

ROUGH NOTES TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS OF THE MILITARY SITUATION
IN EAST TIMOR, BASED ON DOCUMENTS SMUGGLED TO LISBON

Jill Jolliffe

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BASED ON DOCUMENTS SMUGGLED TO LISBON

Documents smuggled from East Timor (see black-and-white photocopies appended) to representatives of the FRETILIN resistance movement in Lisbon, which arrived here in late March, include:

I. Map allegedly captured from the Indonesian military on
the 3rd June, 1985

1. The map (original) is a cyclo-styled A4 page, on rough duplicating paper, in which some parts have been obscured by what appear to be smears of duplicating ink.

2. Its legends are written in Bahasa Indonesian.

3. At the centre-bottom of the map is written, in blue ball-point pen, in Portuguese, 'East Timor 27th July 1985' followed by the signature 'Xanana' [FRETILIN president] and the word 'commander-in-chief'.

4. Part of the map's heading reads 'Lampiran 04 (Oleat Situasi)...Pada LAPORAN...

--the rest being obscured by ink

[Translation: 'Lampiran 04'	=	Plan 04
'Oleat'	=	?
'Situasi'	=	Situation
'Pada Laporan'	=	For report]

5. The map is of the mainland territory of East Timor, which is divided into sectors, apparently on the basis of their military significance.

6. In the east, between the border with west Timor and from a point east of Dili, runs a line down to Suai on the south coast, apparently defining the point at which military activity begins (in other words, the area between Dili and the border

has no military activity, according to the Indonesian account).

7. The rest of the map is divided into 10 sections, each bearing the name of a regular FRETILIN company* on the first line and the name of its commander on the second or, in some cases, the names of the first and second commander of the unit.

E.g. in the Tutuala (far east) zone: KI--Gerilya Timor
Cuba / Miquel do Santos

This means: Company--Timor Guerillas (assuming KI is an abbreviation of the word 'KOMPI'). 'Cuba' is the nom d'guerre of the first commander and the second, mis-spelt, is 'Miguel dos Santos'.

8. The legend has two symbols, amoebic-like blobs which look exactly the same, and thereby reduce the meaningfulness of the whole exercise. They are thus:  DAERAH LOGISTIK HUTAN
(jungle logistic-support areas)

 BASES KLASIK
(classical bases)

9. These blobs appear in each section of the map, sometimes overlapping. Perhaps they were colour-coded in some other version, but from this one, they don't make much sense. All one can say is that this Indonesian map, if it is authentic, shows FRETILIN to have bases in all areas of the territory east of the abovementioned line.

10. The map is signed (in cyclostyle) by
Major Sukeman Kadir [or Kabir]
Serial No. 26681
and dated Dili March 1985

(It is possible to decipher this on the original but not on the photocopies.)

11. The map arrived in Lisbon accompanied by a note written by

* from information available, FRETILIN formed regular companies during its total re-organisation, around 1982-1983 - JJ

FRETILIN commander Xanana, which said the following in Portuguese:

'This document was captured on 3rd June 1985 and reveals the presence of guerillas in the major part of the territory. There are, however, the following alterations:

- in No.1 Unit, the 1st Commander is now Comandante ALUK and the second is Comandante ROODOK (Rosa Ono Oso Dora Key*), who is also the 4th of Company B
- in the No.4 Unit, the 1st Commander is Comandante Lere [or Leke - JJ] and the 2nd is Comandante Selatu Mau. ULAR is the 2nd [Comander] of A [Company] and FULUR is the Political Comandante [Commissar - JJ] of the unit.

The occupiers do not mention here the detachments of the guerillas and this is explained by the fact that normally local security forces act more in pursuit of the guerilla detachments so, this 'oleat situasi' is more [concerned? -- illegible JJ] with its principal forces which act in search operations at the national level.'

12. This note makes sense when you compare the Indonesian map to Map 2 which is drawn by FRETILIN and purports to show the areas they held. They claim to have three units under autonomous command ['destacamentos' -- Portuguese military parlance] west of the line where Indonesians say military activity begins. This tallies with an extensive military report written by Xanana in January 1985 showing Indonesian military activity, including aerial bombardment. It showed intense aerial bombardment in the areas near the border, Maliana and Cailaco, where FRETILIN claims they have their autonomous companies.

13. In summary, the captured map, if authentic:

- (i) gives us the name of an Indonesian commander;

* This is the man's real name in full (the other an acronym)--seemingly in one of the languages from the eastern zone.

- (ii) shows FRETILIN as a force organised into regular companies in most of the eastern and central zone of the territory, although the obscure legend makes a proper reading of the map's significance difficult;
- (iii) It lists the names of FRETILIN's guerilla commanders and demonstrates that their military structure has remained basically intact in the past few years, despite constant Indonesian offensives and at least one serious defection (Mauk Moruk, their third-in-command at the national level, defected in early 1985, taking valuable military information with him).

Most of these names are new, but others are known, and, interestingly, some were brought into the command only after the 1983 ceasefire, showing that there is fresh blood coming into FRETILIN leadership, contrary to Indonesian claims that the resistance consists of a few hundred ragged bandits in the mountains, whose tendency is for numbers to be reduced by a process of attrition.

Of the known names, two were mentioned in the comprehensive Indonesian counter-insurgency manual written in July 1982, captured by FRETILIN, smuggled to Lisbon and later authenticated by Amnesty International.

David Alex is there referred to constantly as one of the most formidable commanders. On the latest map, March 1985, almost three years later, he is given as the 1st commander of A Company, Unit 1, in the Quelicai region, where he was previously based. Also mentioned in both documents, as 1st commander of the Iliomar region, is Falu Tiai [Chai in 1982 version].

Two others of the eighteen commanders given in the latest map are known from other sources, and both are veterans from the first phase of the war, which ended in 1979 with the death of FRETILIN leader Nicolau Lobato. Miguel dos Santos, now 2nd commander of the Lospalos district is the rajah of Meara, in

that area, who previously served in the border area as 1st commander of an autonomous unit.

Virgilio, given as 2nd commander of B Company, Unit IV, in the Alas-Fato Berliu district, is Virgilio dos Anjos who in March 1984 wrote a letter which was smuggled out of Timor to Captain Arthur Stevenson, an Australian who served as a commando in Timor during World War II, and who was a friend of dos Anjos's father, Celestino. He wrote to tell of the execution of his wife and father at Craras in August 1983, as a reprisal for the fact that he had re-joined FRETILIN in the bush (after surrendering to Indonesian forces in 1979, and later serving as a conscript in the Indonesian army). He claimed that several hundred Timorese were executed in these conditions. (Similar claims--dealt with in earlier press reports--came from several sources, including the Bishop of Dili, Msgr Carlos Belo, with figures ranging between 84 and 700 known dead.)

From Xanana's note accompanying this map, it appears that the changes he lists in the FRETILIN command involve some cases of people moving from one position to another, but some are unexplained, and may result from the death or defection of commanders.

II. 'Map of territorial control' 10/1/86

--this is a map drawn by FRETILIN with a legend to mark the following sections:

- zones considered under Indonesian military control
- areas under control of FALINTIL [FRETILIN army], designated as 'liberated areas'
- bases of autonomous guerilla units
- location of 'concentration camps' [this shouldn't be literally translated - JJ] away from roads and areas of cultivation
- 'concentration camps' in more remote locations
- unusable roads
- usable roads
- boundary between war zones and area of effective Indonesian control
- areas of reduced guerilla presence

The map has 74 locations marked, accompanied by a key to the places; it's signed Xanana and marked--'FRETILIN-C.R.R.N.' and 'COMANDO DAS FORÇAS ARMADAS DE LIBERTAÇÃO NACIONAL DE TIMOR-LESTE'.

This map is the least useful of the three, because most of its information cannot be checked against other data. Exceptions: a) the boundary between war zones corresponds with Indonesian map b) the area of autonomous units partly co-incides with areas allegedly bombed by Indonesia in FRETILIN's 1975 report.

III. Map, with key, drawn by FRETILIN, showing Indonesian military dispositions and strengths. Title: 'Dispositivo IN de segurança das vilas, campos e estradas' 10/1/86

--this map is the most useful and coherent of the three:

1. Using a colour key, it marks 69 Indonesian military dispositions, ranging from tank and assault car units, platoon-strength units (some with light artillery) to the strongest concentrations of Indonesian regular troops at company strength supported by local militia companies, the HANSIPs.

2. It shows the territory as being divided into three main areas of Indonesian control:

(i) from the border to the line marking off the war zone from the pacified zone*--almost total Indonesian control

(ii) the central zone--from this line to a line cutting across the island north-south from Baucau to Viqueque

(iii) the eastern zone--east of this line

3. As with the Indonesian map, the war zone area is divided into 10 military districts.

4. The legend shows three types of roads:

(i) heavy-security roads with checkpoints

(ii) roads of a lesser security rating, but permanently patrolled

(iii) roads with only periodic control

The roads with heavy security control are:

-- the roads to 10 kms outside Dili, with the exception of the road to the east;

*mentioned in previous maps--runs east of Dili, north-south, to east of Suai

- the road from 10 kms east of Manatuto; all along the north coast, through Baucau, and on to 10 kms outside Tutuala;
- the road Baucau-Viqueque;
- the stem road from Fuiloro to Lospalos.

Secondary security roads are: south of Dili to Ainaro and Same; the roads from the north coast to Baguia and Quelicai, respectively; the road from Uatolari to Viqueque (with the exception of the strip Beago-outskirts of Viqueque).

5. High-security concentrations of troops (not less than one regular Indonesian company plus one company of HANSIPs) are located at:

DILI
AINARO
SAME
MANATUTO
BAUCAU
VIQUEQUE
LOSPALOS

6. Zones where one regular Indonesian company are stationed, under 1st commander, battalion-level*:

FATO BERLIU
BUNAS MEAN (just north of Barique)
LALEIA
OSSU
KAIKOLI (just north of Venilale)
VENILALE
SAELARI
ILIOMAR
FUILOORO

7. Zones where one regular Indonesian company are stationed, under 2nd commander, battalion level*:

*according to Timorese who have fought with the guerillas, commanders of relatively senior rank lead companies in sensitive areas to ensure that demands for support troops in event of trouble will be answered efficiently

CRIBAS
NATAR BORO
THE CROSSROAD SOUTH OF DILOR
LAEOLIO (south of Quelicai)
BELA VISTA
LURO
MALURO

(8) Zones where one regular Indonesian company are stationed, under regular command:

ALAS
BAUCAU AIRPORT
THE 3 SUCOS OF LALENO

(9) The two regular Indonesian battalions 744 and 745 made up of Timorese troops (who serve only in East Timor) are dispersed between:

DILI (two posts - Comoro and Becorah)
SAME
BAUCAU
FATOMACA
VIQUEQUE
LOSPALOS

(10) Assault cars and tanks are described at:

DILI
DILI-AILEU ROAD, ABOUT 10 KMS SOUTH OF DILI
SAME
MANATUTO
BIKARIN (south of Dilor crossroads)
BAUCAU
BAUCAU AIRPORT
VENILALE
OSSU
VIQUEQUE

CROSSROADS NORTH COAST RD — BAGUIA
 SALINAI
 LAUTEM
 LOSPALOS
 FUILORO

There is no note of tanks and/or assault cars being stationed in Uato Carabau, although photos smuggled out by FRETILIN have shown a parade of tanks and artillery through this town in October 1985. Viqueque is the nearest post where tanks are based according to these maps.

(11) Artillery units are described at:

SAME
 HATUDO
 BARIQUE
 BUNAS MEANS
 MANATUTO
 DILOR
 BIKARIN
 UAIME (south-east of Laleia)
 VENILALE
 OSSU
 VIQUEQUE
 QUELICAI
 LAGA
 SAELARI
 SAGADOTE
 THE 3 SUCOS OF LALENO
 LURO
 ILIOMAR
 LOSPALOS
 MEHARA

(12) Units of platoon strength, supported by Timorese village

militia (RATIH) are dotted throughout the countryside, along main roads, in the mountainous interior, and a few west of the official line marking off the zone of military activity from that of no military activity--namely, along the road from Dili to the border, past Ermera: at Letefoho, Atsabe, Laclo and Bobonaro.

(13) In summary, this map, if authentic:

- (i) implicity defines the areas of greatest Indonesian military concern. Apart from the strongly-fortified capital, the main focus of forces is along the north-south line from Baucau to Viqueque, where there is a high representation of regular forces, combined with the Timorese battalions 744/745, tank and artillery units. Everywhere east of this line appears militarily busy (or at least prepared to be), although the south coast area west of this line, until Ainaro and Same, is also fairly densely policed. Regular Indonesian units in isolated interior posts tend to have relatively high-ranking commanders, and to be supported by artillery units (e.g. at Luro, Iliomar, Quelicai, Uatolari, Uaime and Barique).
- (ii) The highest density of artillery units is concentrated in all of the area east of the Baucau-Viqueque line and the south coast area west of Viqueque (Barique, Dilor, south of Dilor), suggesting areas of higher activity.
- (iii) From the evidence of these maps and drawing on previous reports, especially the captured Indonesian military document of 1982, insofar as any patterns emerge, 'trouble spots' can be cautiously identified as: the districts around Saelari, Uatolari, Viqueque, Ossu, Venilale, Barique, Dilor, Soibada, Fato Berliu, and Same.
- (iv) The Indonesian military dispositions described are almost certainly post-1983, dating from their re-organisation after the breakdown of the cease-fire with FRETILIN in August of that year. FRETILIN reports of regular artillery and aerial bombardment date from after that time--a feature of the war between 1976 and 1979, but not so much in the years '80-'83. The principal Indonesian strategy post-1983

seems to have been to try and build a sort of gate across the island, from Baucau to Viqueque.

- (v) Apart from Ainaro and Same, there appears to be little activity in the areas south and south-east of Dili. Tank and artillery units are spread thinly in this area.
- (vi) None of the maps refer to the stationing of aircraft, although Baucau is known from earlier reports to be the principal base of the **Northrop F5** and Bronco OV-10 bombers and helicopters which conduct the air war. Reports on the incidence of aerial bombardment would be useful to complete the military picture provided by these maps.

NOTE: I cannot vouch for the complete authenticity of the captured document nor, from this distance, can I assess the FRETILIN claims regarding Indonesian military strengths and dispositions, and their own strength. For lack of means to do so, these questions must remain open, but obviously, I would not have spent time and energy on this analysis if I did not believe they possessed a certain credibility, arising mainly from their consistency with previous reports. I have been assisted in the analysis by a Timorese who fought with the guerillas in the mountains.

Jill Jolliffe
Lisbon 20/4/86

Attached: EAST TIMOR : Principal Centres (rough map by Timor Newsletter) ... p.13.

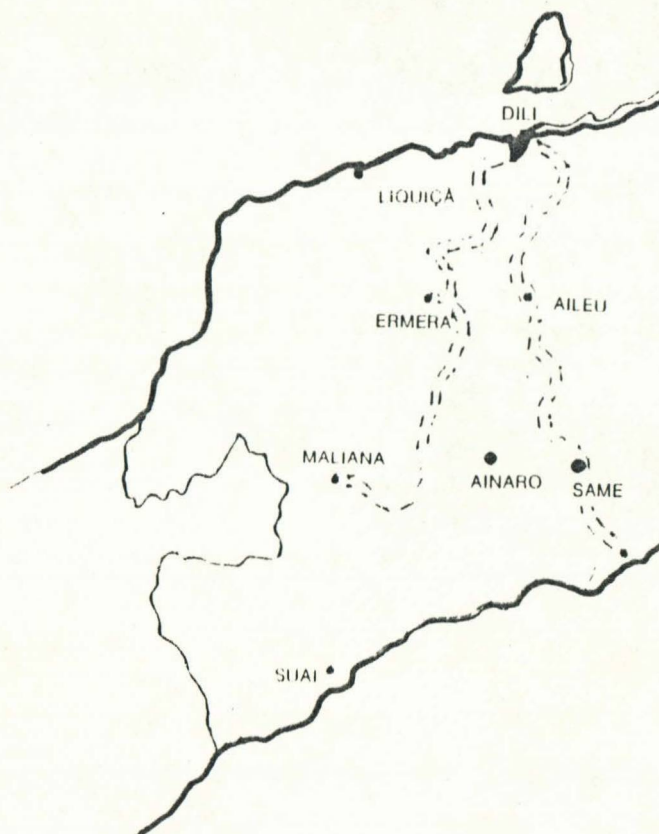
MAP 1 — captured Indonesian map ... p.14

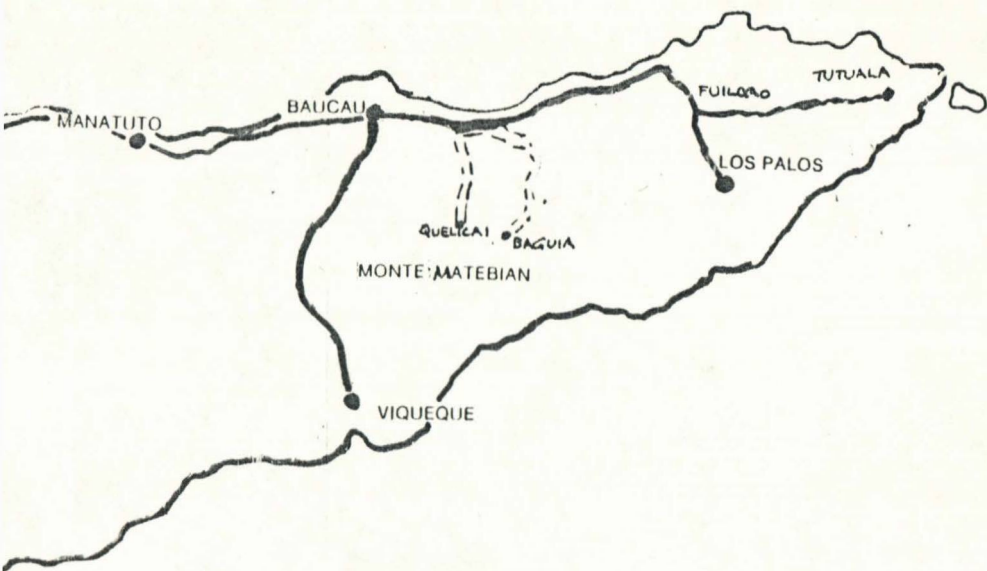
MAP 2 — FRETILIN 'map of territorial control' ... p.15

MAP 3 — FRETILIN map showing Indonesian ... p.16
dispositions & strengths

NOTE ATTACHED TO CAPTURED INDONESIAN MAP (MAP 1) ... p.17

KEY TO MAPS 2 AND 3 ... p.18

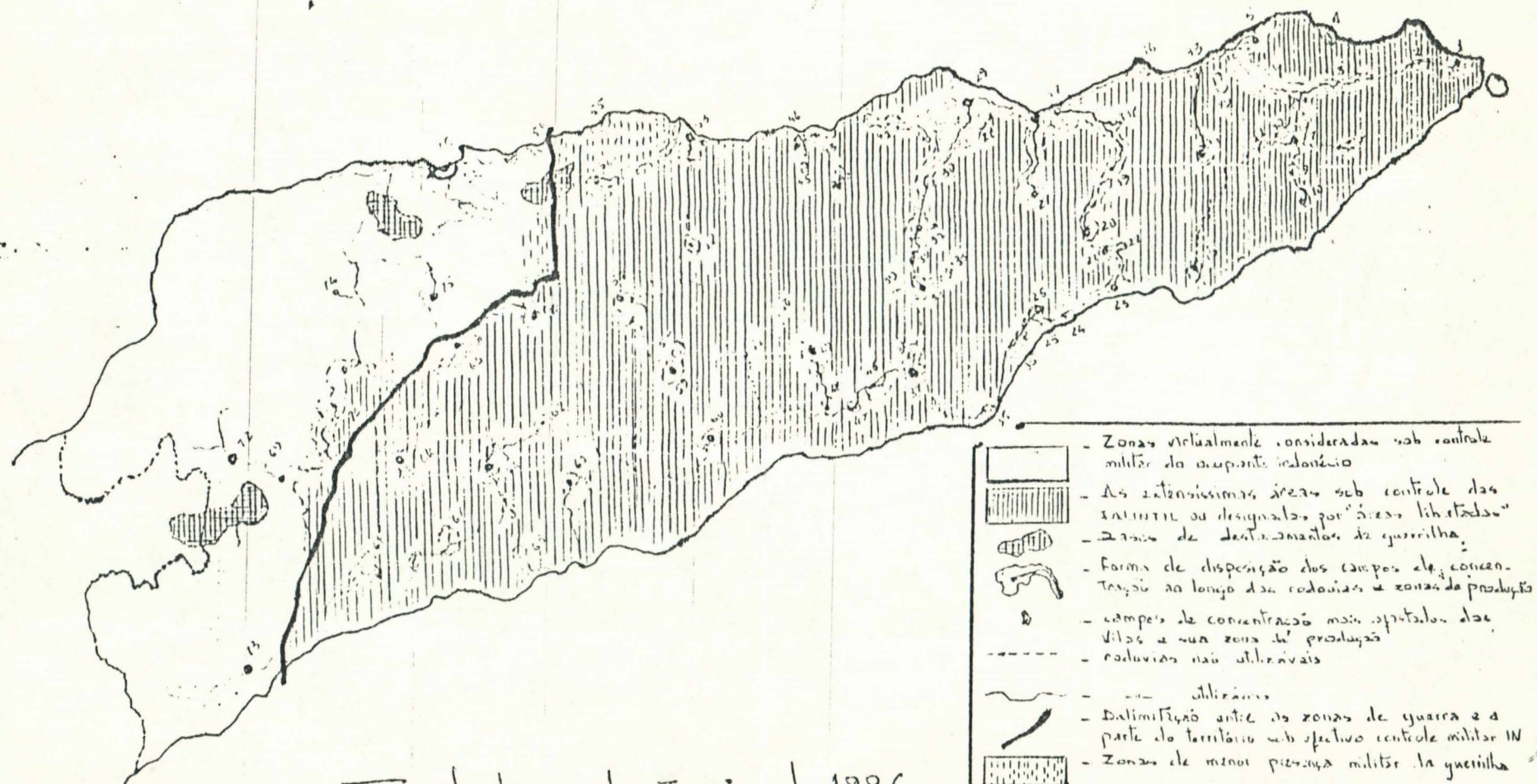
E A S T T I M O R : Principal Centres



FRETILIN-C.R.R.N.

Comando das Forças Armadas de Libertação
Nacional de Timor-Leste

Mapa de controle territorial



Timor Leste, 10 de Janeiro de 1986.

O Comdt-em-Chefe das FALINTIL,

XANANAR

- Lisboa -

Este documento foi capturado, em 3/junho/85. É revelador da presença dos quartilhões na maior parte do Território.

Há, porém, as seguintes alterações:

- Na 12 Unidade, o 1º Cmdt é, aqui, o c/ ALUK e o 2º é o c/ Roodur (Rusi Cno Cso Dora Rey) que é tb o 1º da Compa B;
- Na 12 Unidade, o 1º Cmdt é o c/ Jere e o 2º é o c/ Selda Pau. O 1º da A e falur é o Com. Político da Unidade;

O documento não menciona aqui os destacamentos de quartilha e isso explica-se pelo facto de, normalmente, aplicar mais as forças de segurança local para perseguir os destacamentos e, portanto, esta "outra situação" é mais concretamente as suas forças principais que actuam em operações de batida a nível nacional.

Xan 20/7/85

MAPA (3)

- 1 - Tutuala ; 2 - Nhara/Perlamano ; 3 - Linha Pores/Cruzamento ; 4 - Kom ; 5 - Lou-
tem ; 6 - Posto antigo ; 7 - Lospalos ; 8 - Muapitane ; 9 - Leuro ; 10 - Hôlopa ; 11 - Moluro ;
12 - 3 Suco de Moluro ; 13 - Luro ; 14 - Mionar ; 15 - Lóivai ; 16 - Salinas ; 17 - Saelari ;
18 - Sogolote ; 19 - Linha Aclari/Samalarí (Baguá) ; 20 - Bela Vista (Terminal w do cer-
deira de Legumou) ; 21 - Baguá ; 22 - Posto antigo de Ukarbau ; 23 - Posto novo ;
24 - Kelihoi ; 25 - Alto de Louliu ; 26 - Lago ; 27 - Uoraho ; 28 - Linha de Fatumoko a
Seigal ; 29 - Baukau ; 30 - Aeroporto ; 31 - Osho ; 32 - Kailuba ; 33 - Uani Uajo ; 34 - Ber-
noli ; 35 - Alto de Kailoli ; a Linha de Venilale ; 36 - Venilale ; 37 - Ossu ; 38 - Nahareka
e Uoibob ; 39 - Buaurak ; 40 - Uoto Lari ; 41 - Linha de Neobuti a Lugosa ; 42 - Beasu ;
43 - Vikeke ; 44 - Biharin ; 45 - Cruzamento para Dilor ; 46 - Dilor ; 47 - Uaimé (Linha que vai
do Sogol de Ossu) ; 48 - Vemasse ; 49 - Loleia ; 50 - Nanatulo ; 51 - Kribas ; 52 - Lakhubar ;
53 - Búrus Ncan (Alto Borike) ; 54 - Pualho ; 55 - Soibada ; 56 - Borike ; 57 - Motor Bora ;
58 - Nôvela ; 59 - F. Berlin ; 60 - Alas ; 61 - Turiskoi ; 62 - Same ; 63 - Ainaro ;
64 - Hudo ; 65 - Lete Foho ; 66 - Atsabe ; 67 - ; 68 - Alto de ;

MAPA (2)

- 1 - Tutuala ; 2 - Nhara/Perlamano ; 3 - Linha Pores/Assalaino ; 4 - Kom ; 5 - Lou-
tem ; 6 - Linha Rax - Loutem ; 7 - Lospalos ; 8 - Muapitane ; 9 - Hôlopa ; 10 - Moluro ; 11 - Leuro ;
12 - Moluro ; 13 - Fatumoko ; 14 - Luro ; 15 - Mionar ; 16 - Lóivai ; 17 - Lago ; 18 - Saelari ;
19 - Aclari ; 20 - Baguá ; 21 - Posto Velho de Ukarbau ; 22 - Laila ; 23 - Posto novo ;
24 - Campo de Kapuas ; 25 - Alambada ; 26 - Uclari ; 27 - Kelihoi ; 28 - Linha Fatumoko/
Seigal ; 29 - Baukau ; 30 - Bere Koli ; 31 - Venilale ; 32 - Campo
de , a sul da ribeira de Assalaino ; 33 - Campo de Nahareka e Uoibob ;
34 - Ossu ; 35 - Linha de Neobuti a Lugosa ; 36 - Beasu ; 37 - Vikeke ; 38 - Buaurak ;
39 - Campo de Lisuka, em Bubusa ; 40 - Linha de Lailuba/Osho ; 41 - Buholi/Ualokomo ;
42 - Campo de Uai ; 43 - Kairabala/Vemasse ; 44 - Loleia ; 45 - Kairui ; 46 - Linha
de Kaju laron Kalerak Nulin Biharin ; 47 - Luka ; 48 - Eubur Lico ; 49 - Dilor ; 50 -
Lakhua (desocupado) ; 51 - Borike (de Tai) ; 52 - Kribas ; 53 - Nanatulo ; 54 -
Laila ; 55 - Be Hau (Mionar) ; 56 - Moluro ; 57 - Lakhubar ; 58 - Soibada ;
59 - Mare Hat ; 60 - M. Bora ; 61 - F. Berlin ; 62 - Alas ; 63 - Linha de Betano ;
64 - Same ; 65 - Maubisse ; 66 - Ainaro ; 67 - Hudo ; 68 - Nape ; 69 - Bobo-
noro ; 70 - Atsabe ; 71 - Lete Foho ; 72 - Moluro ; 73 - Suai ; 74 - Ermeras ;